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The alchemy of colors. Titian portrays his pigment merchant Alvise 'dai Colori' dalla Scala

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The Alchemy of Colors Titian Portrays his Pigment Merchant Alvise “dai colori” dalla Scala

The imposing appearance of a bearded man in his full maturity looms up in front of us and looks slightly down on the viewer from out of the picture (ill. 1). The portrayed man is wearing the long toga of black velvet (*vesta*) over a white shirt and blue silk gown that makes him recognizable as a citizen (*cittadino*) of Venice of the early modern era. He has placed his right hand on a stole (*beco*) that he has befittingly thrown over his left shoulder. The wide sleeves (*dogalina*) of the arm resting on a piece of furniture reveal the lining (*zendado*) of black silk that was worn in Venice during the warm months of the year.¹ He is also holding a dark green palm leaf that rises up over his shoulder and stands out against the brown-green wall behind him.

On the left, a narrow, framed window shines like a prismatic crack of light and offers a view of the landscape. Using a broad brush and dry color, the artist actually needs very little to capture an ephemeral evening mood. Dark brown trees tower up above the low, misty horizon and appear like silhouettes against the yellow, ochre-colored clouds glowing from the last rays of the sun reaching them. Higher up, rosy reflexes mix with dark blue and black-gray clouds. The crescent of the waning moon shines through the clouds. There is a gold casket, separated into several compartments in which ten various-colored powders are heaped, lying on the windowsill. A spoon-like, two-sided metal spatula lies diagonally across the casket and juts out into the freely painted landscape. Above this, in the shadow, we discover a painted inscription.

The composition is dominated by the light yellow sections of the sky, the glowing hands and the hieratic face of the bald-headed man. The head, which stands out vividly against the dark background on the left is shadowed on the right in front of the brightened surface. The static arrangement is broken rhythmically and invested with a feeling of vitality through the colorfulness of the landscape and incarnate areas. The plastic presence of the portrayed person is brought together in his fixating gaze that produces

an interplay between the immediate effect on the viewer and his esthetic experience. We are confronted with a masterful portrait created out of the material of color.

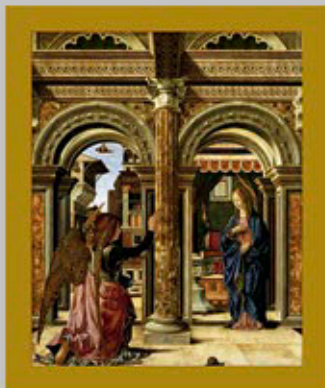
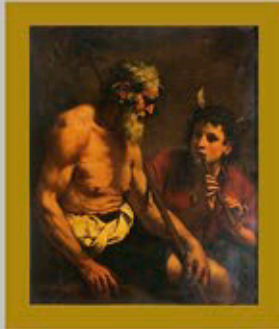
Pietro Aretino, poet and martyr of morals?

The portrait of a man, whose old attribution to Titian has remained unquestioned, was listed for the first time among those works that the former Italian gallery inspector Pietro Maria Guarienti and other agents had purchased for the Dresden art collection of August II in Venice and Bologna in 1748/49 in the agenda of an inventory begun in 1747.² Most of the numerous new acquisitions were hung provisionally in the Inner Gallery of the royal-electoral painting collection at Jüdenhof or stored in the not-yet-furnished Outer Gallery.

Shortly thereafter, Guarienti's new inventory documented that the painting was at the top of one of the pilasters in the Inner Gallery on which new acquisitions, as well as lesser works, were placed (ill. 2). In his *catalogo*, Guarienti claims that the portrait shows the man of letters Pietro Aretino and was formerly in the possession of the noble Venetian Marcello family.³ Guarienti positioned the newly purchased painting on the pilaster accordingly: The portrait of the infamous polygraph and pornographer Aretino found itself in the company of the almost-as-large luxurious portrait of a Venetian woman attributed to Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, which was also said to have come from a noble Venetian collection, as the appropriate female accompaniment. He also squeezed Willem Drost's "Mercury Putting Argus to Sleep with his Stories" in between the two as a comment on the rhetorical potency of the poet.⁴

It is hard to determine which branch of the *casa Marcello* is meant seeing that Guarienti's information on the painting's provenience remained a singular case and was possibly only intended to invest the man – who only had the half-bald head in common with Aretino – with a sound family tree. Of course, it could have been that family whose collection the art

Ill. 1
Titian, "Portrait of the Pigment Merchant Alvise dalla Scala"
1561/62, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



connoisseur Marcantino Michiel inspected in the year 1525: There was an important collection of paintings in the house of the diplomat Girolamo Marcello in San Tomà that also included a portrait of Girolamo's brother Cristoforo, the Archbishop of Corfu, by Titian.⁵ It seems unlikely that the painting being discussed could have immortalized a later member of the Marcello family as the descendants would have hardly been prepared to hand over such an impressive visual documentation of their noble origin.

This portrait of a man was moved to another, more important, pilaster in the Inner Gallery where it hung opposite Veronese's "Madonna with the Cuccina Family" and Raphael's "Sistine Madonna", which had been recently purchased, from 1754 to 1771.⁶ In the first two catalogs of the Dresden gallery, published in 1765 and 1771, the painting is still listed as the "Portrait of Petrus Aretinus with Bare Head and Tile Beard, Dressed in Black, and with a Palm Leaf in his Hand".⁷ Incidentally, the portrait must have stood in a competitive relationship with the supposed portrait of Aretino by Titian that Matthias Oesterreich, the former inspector of the Dresden Gallery who had "defected" and entered into Prussian service, cataloged in Sans Souci in 1764 where it adorned the Italian wall of the royal painting gallery and was reproduced as a copperplate engraving in 1766.⁸

As the *Neue Sach- und Ortsverzeichnis* of 1817 shows, Titian's male portrait in the Dresden gallery received even more attention at the beginning of the 19th century.⁹ Not only was the signature and year of its creation "MDLXI" mentioned, but also the painted inscription "Inm. Petrus Aretinus, aetatis sua XXXXVI" that established the identification of the portrayed person at the time. Seeing that Aretino had died in 1556, the portrait of the forty six year old poet, which was dated with 1561, could have only been painted *in memoriam* ("INM."), meaning *post mortem* – if at all.

The wall sections described in the 1826 catalog (ill. 3) and the only known view of the interior of the Dresden gallery (ill. 4) show that Titian's male portrait was presented at the viewer's eye level in the flight of rooms in the west wing of the Inner Gallery until around 1830.¹⁰ Hung together with Titian's "Lady in White" and "Young Woman with a Vase" (ill. p. 21), which was attributed to him at the time, Fasolo's "Lady", who has now been identified as Maria de' Medici, a portrait of a doge by Leandro Bassano, and – first and foremost – Veronese's male portrait that was thought to show the face of the art connoisseur Daniele Barbaro (ill. p. 6), Titian's "Aretino" took its

Ill. 2
Digital reconstruction
of the hanging of Titian's
**"Portrait of the Pigment Merchant
Alvise dalla Scala"**
in the Inner Gallery of the Dresden
Picture Gallery in 1750
(Visualized with Gallery Creator)

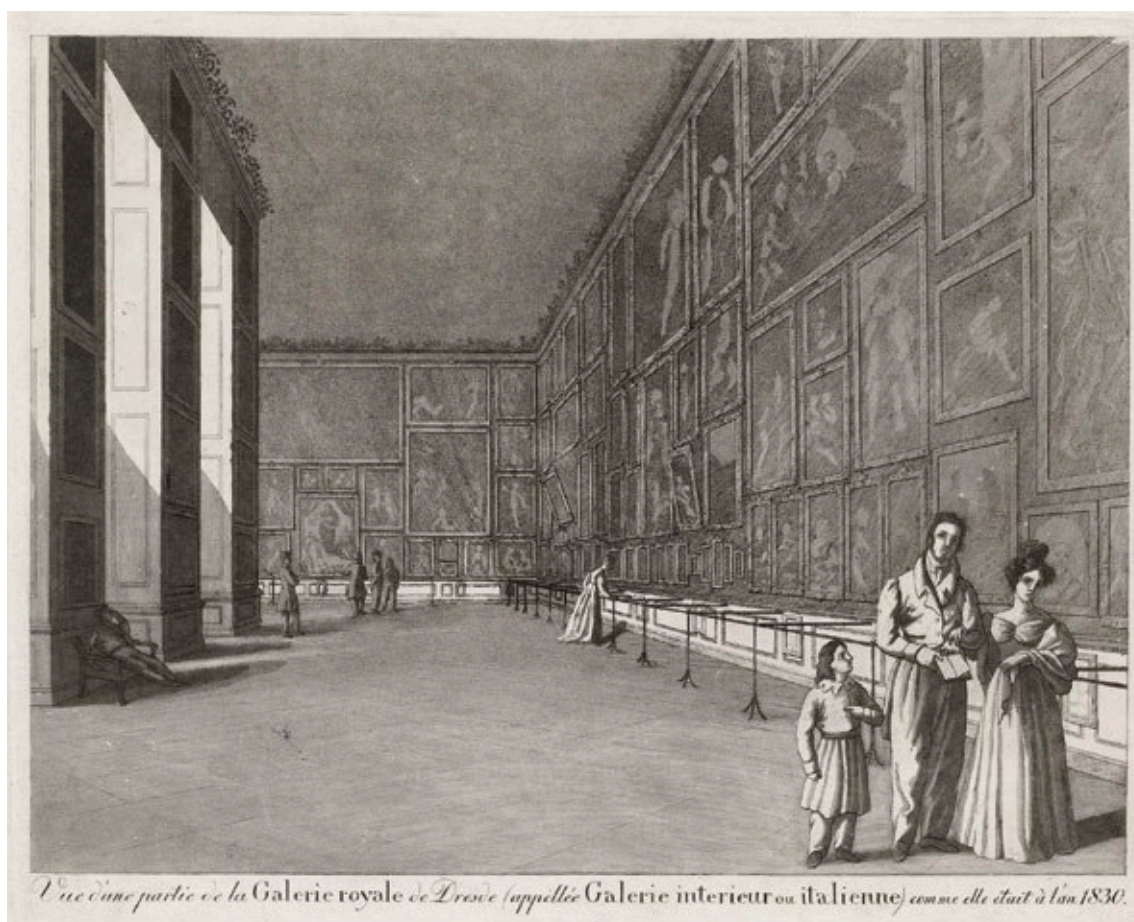


Ill. 3
Digital reconstruction of the
hanging of Titian's
**"Portrait of the Pigment
Merchant Alvise dalla Scala"**
in the Inner Gallery of the
Dresden Picture Gallery in 1825
(Visualized with Gallery Creator)

place in a prominent group of worldly, Venetian donor-like auxiliary figures evoking a social context of clients, friends and lovers of the man from Cadore.¹¹ As if to confirm the triumph of Roman instantiated *disegno* over Venetian *colore*, these paintings seem to turn towards Raphael's "Sistine Madonna" that, as a result of the classicist reception and early-romantic admiration, had developed into one of the main works in the gallery and was hung in a correspondingly prominent position immediately next to the large, syncretistic works of Annibale Carracci, as well as Correggio's popular "Mary Magdalene".¹²

When the Inner Gallery was reorganized according to art-historical principles of chronology and artistic geography in 1831/32, Titian's "Aretino" was finally removed from this pseudo-iconological presentational context and hung together with its counterpart – Veronese's "Barbaro" – in the room reserved for Venetian art.¹³

As early as in 1856 – the year after the inauguration of the new Semper Gallery – doubts arose about the traditional identification of the portrayed person; this can be seen as a symptom of the development of the picture gallery from a regal, representative collection to a public museum as a place of art-historical debate.



III. 4
Anonymous
View of the Inner Gallery of the
Dresden Picture Gallery, 1830
 Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
 Dresden, Kupferstich Kabinett

While Martin Bernhard Lindau and Julius Hübner merely put a question mark behind the portrait of the “licentious poet”, Johann Gottlob von Quandt considered Titian’s portrait “most peculiar”: It was unlike other portraits of Aretino; the Christian victory palm of martyrdom was “not a suitable attribute for the lascivious poet or the feared satirist” and the inscription was probably forged.¹⁴ In spite of these obvious doubts, Wilhelm Schäfer stuck with the traditional identification in 1860 by referring to the older printed reproductions although they showed completely different portraits of Aretino. He went as far as to interpret the palm leaf as a symbol of self-glorification on the part of the immoral writer who saw himself as persecuted and martyred by the moralists.¹⁵

An unknown pharmacist or the artist Antonio Palma?

It was not until 1877 that Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle rejected – once and for all – the traditional identification of the man shown as Aretino on grounds of the lack of any physiognomic similarity. They also reported on a recent cleaning that – as Quandt had previously suspected – exposed the second and third lines of the inscription as a forgery that had probably been undertaken after 1867 to counter the doubts that had arisen about the identity of the man in the painting.¹⁶ An older inscription had come to light beneath this one but the difference in color and graphology showed that this was also not original:

MDLXI
 ANNO .. I. APF.. A. NATVS
 ÆTATIS SVÆ XLVI
 TITIANVS PICTOR ET
 ÆQVES CÆSARIS.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle euphemistically state that: “The original beauty of the painting tempted people to attach a name to the person shown” seeing that Guarienti, painter, restorer, dealer and curator in one person, seemed to have been taken in by a retrospective written valorization of an unknown portrayed person – if he had not provided it himself.¹⁷ It was similar with a painting of a man in the Dresden Picture Gallery that was formerly attributed to Giorgione and today to Paris Bordone and whose inscription presented the portrayed person as Aretino.¹⁸ The newly revealed inscription indicated that the man in the painting had been born in the year 1515 which contradicted with the actual year of Aretino’s birth.¹⁹

While Crowe and Cavalcaselle made no attempt to classify the box and spatula in the middle ground, Giovanni Morelli noted the following in 1880: “A box of paint can be seen on the windowsill behind the man.”²⁰ However, in 1901, Karl Tscheuschner protested against the assumption that it showed a painter’s equipment and was therefore a portrait of an artist that had existed since that time. He was correct in his observation that the spoon-shaped spatula could not have been used to apply paint to the surface of the picture like a modern flat spatula but resembled a pharmacist’s powder spatula.²¹

The “powder box” also seemed to be more of an indication that the portrayed person was active in the medical or pharmacy profession.²² We know of rectangular and round medicine boxes and spice tins with cavities and lids, as well as spoon-like spatulas, from the early modern age.²³ The boxes were usually used by spice merchants and apothecaries to display the wares they were trying to market to their clients. They are therefore the attributes of the two doctor Saints Cosmas and Damian.²⁴ One recognizes a box and spatula similar to the objects in Titian’s portrait of a gentleman as attributes of the saints in an “Assunta” by the Tintoretto workshop from the 1570s in the Venetian Church of San Polo.²⁵

Crowe and Cavalcaselle were the first to believe that they had noticed an old overpainting that had been cleaned away and would explain the later addition of the palm leaf: “Around the head, now only shining indistinctly beneath the overpainted ground, one sees the line of a round nimbus.”²⁶ The transformation of worldly portraits into those of saints could seem to be absolutely plausible not only on account of the practice of sacred identification portraits, but also those repaintings that were sometimes undertaken to upgrade unknown portrayed persons to saints.²⁷ At the time, the Dresden Picture Gallery also

had a portrait of a young man, attributed to Parmigianino, who had later been decked out with a halo, palm and stones to become Saint Stephen.²⁸

Tscheuschner though that his belief that he could see traces of an aureole had been confirmed when the painting was analyzed in the restoration workshop of the Dresden Gallery; he reinterpreted the work as the portrait of a doctor or apothecary “who had been portrayed by Titian as a saint of his profession” – as Cosmas or Damien.²⁹ However, art-technological investigations carried out in 1967 ruled out that a halo had been eliminated.³⁰ It seemed much more likely that they were traces of intensive painting work on the head of the portrayed person carried out by the artist himself around which the rest of the painting was created with rapid brushstrokes.

Tscheuschner’s theory met with opposition in 1905 when Herbert Cook argued that the palm leaf – *palma* in Italian – in the hand of the man, together with the “paint box” must have been an allusion to the family name and profession of the little known artist Antonio Palma, the nephew of Jacopo *Il Vecchio* and father of the *Giovane* whose year of birth was probably 1515.³¹ Karl Woerlmann concurred with this identification in his official gallery inventory in 1908 and the painting has been considered a portrait of Palma to this day.³² However, more recent research sometimes adds a question mark to the name seeing that no verified portrait of Palma that could be used as a comparison has been preserved and his birthdate is also uncertain.³³ In turn, the incorrect identification of the male portrait in Dresden with Palma has led to his birthdate now being erroneously given as 1515.³⁴

Alvise dalla Scala,

Deacon of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco

The infrared reflectographic examination of Titian’s male portrait, performed together with Christoph Schölzel in 1994, revealed the following inscription (ill. 5):

M·D·LXI·
ANNO . SVÍ . VARDÍANATVS
ÆTATÍS . SUÆ . XLVI.

TITÍANVS PÍCTOR ET
ÆQVES CÆSARIS.

For the first time, this provided us with a decisive indication of the office the portrayed gentleman held in 1561: “Vardianatus” must be understood as the Venetian translation of the Italian *guardianato*, the official designation of the guardian (*vardian/guardiano*), the highest office in the six main confraternities, the Scuola Grande, of the lagoon city.

The combination of the names of the *guardini* and *degani* (deacons) of the early 1560s documented in the archives and iconographic attributes of the portrayed persons shows that the palm leaf, as the symbol of victory (*vittoria*), could be an indication of the first name Victor and consequently of Vettor (Vittorio) Garbignan, who was *guardian grande* – the highest office holder – in the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1561. However, as Gabriele Köster researched, the paint or medicine box does not refer to his profession, that of a *doctor advocatus* or jurist, and a *guardian grande* would not have wanted to do without his privilege of the crimson red robe.³⁵ It is also necessary to mention that, although the said Antonio Palma was a member of the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1561, he did not hold any office in the confraternity.³⁶

On the other hand, the list of the *confratelli di governo* of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco reveals that one of the two *degani di mezz’anno*, the deacons of the governing body, who were elected for a one-year term in the fall of 1561, was Alvise (Luigi) dalla Scala (also: de la and Scalla) with the telling byname of “dai colori” (of the colors).³⁷ The office of *degano di mezz’anno* was one step below that of the four *capi* of the governing body (*banca*) led by the *guardian grande*, but higher than that of the advisory body (*zonta*), as well as the auditors (*sindaci*) and administrators (*masseri*).³⁸ In 1563, 1565 and 1569, Alvise was *in zonta*, meaning assistant, but he did not progress to the next level of vicar (*vicario*) let alone *guardian grande*. In 1572, he was followed by his nephew Domenego (Domenico) “dai colori” and in 1573 by the other Anzolo (Angelo) dalla Scala, both as *degani*. In this case, the official title of “vardianatus” must be seen as an umbrella term that also included the office of *degano*. The testament of Alvise, Domenico’s son, which Benjamin Paul found, was drawn up on September 15, 1581 and mentions his nephews, brothers Angelo and Domenico Gradignan dalla Scala, as well as his wife Margherita. However, the document does not confirm the date of birth of Alvise, who died sometime between 1587 and 1589 and was therefore probably born in the 1510s.³⁹

The palm leaf probably does not refer to the saint Alvise was named after – Saint Louis of Toulouse – because he did not suffer martyrdom but, more likely, to Alvise’s honorary office: On February 19, 1574 (1573 *more Veneto*) the *guardian grande* of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Marco Balbiani, who had been a *degano* in 1562, decreed that the two most recently retired *guardini* and *vicarii* be presented with a palm leaf from the Scuola Grande to honor them and publically praise their exemplary efforts for the confraternity.⁴⁰ If this pre-Easter presentation of the palm leaf had been an established practice before this decree and also applied to the *degani*, the portrait of Alvise dalla Scala would have been commissioned in 1561/62 as a souvenir of his office as *degano di mezz’anno*.⁴¹

Alvise “dai colori”, Titian’s pigment merchant

As Roland Krischel and Louisa C. Matthew recently showed, Venice had been the European center of the color trade and pigment production – the chemical and pharmaceutical industry as a whole – since the Middle Ages. For that reason, the pigment sellers (*vendecolori/vendicolori*), the providers of artistic supplies, became an independent profession within the apothecary guild (*spezieri/speziali*) in 1500.⁴² As with Alvise dalla Scala and his nephews, the specialist pigment merchants – according to Krischel, there are records of around two dozen in the cinquecento – were identified by adding “dai colori” to their name. In general, the *speziali* were affluent and well-educated members of society (*cittadini*) who, lacking access to the Maggior Consiglio of the Scuole Grandi, were active in the political and charitable fields where they also pursued their social and economic networks.⁴³ San Rocco was the most powerful of all of the Scuole Grandi. A color merchant like Alvise dalla Scala was therefore wealthy and cultivated enough to have himself portrayed by Titian.

First and foremost, the exhibition box suggests that the man shown in the painting is the Venetian *vendicolori* Alvise dalla Scala. The box was used to present small samples of pigments but not for paints that were stored and handled in much greater amounts; in contrast, artists did not process and keep their pigments in paint boxes similar to those developed for modern plein air painting but in a variety of open and closed containers. It seems likely that Alvise’s election as *degano di mezz’anno* of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in the fall of 1561 provided the opportunity to commission this commemorative



Ill. 5
Detail of:
Titian, “Portrait of the Pigment Merchant Alvise dalla Scala”

portrait as was a wide-spread tradition among Venetian government officials such as the *camerlenghi*.⁴⁴ The specification of the year “MDLXI” on the painting therefore refers to Alvise’s term in office and not when the painting was completed although this was probably shortly thereafter, most likely after Easter 1562.

Black clothing of the kind Alvise is wearing in this painting was not only conventional for Venice’s *cittadini* but also a sign of their affluence; black cloth was expensive and popular in the courts as Baldassare Castiglione reported.⁴⁵ Venice was one of the most important production centers of black silk and the Venetian silk guild (*Arte della Seta*) tried to block imports.⁴⁶ Through his clothing, Alvise proudly displays a local luxury article made by producers who were extremely strongly represented in the Scuola Grande di San Rocco and who were provided with the necessary agents for coloring their wares by the *speziali* and *vendicolori*.⁴⁷

It seemed obvious for Alvise to turn to Titian with his commission seeing that the artist had been a member of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco from early in his career, was a member of the *zonta* in 1552, made efforts to get contracts for artworks from the Scuola as of 1553 and still took part in a meeting of the chapter in May 1561.⁴⁸ Artists also profited economically from the networking that was possible within the confraternity – in particular from the large commissions for decorations granted by the Scuole. Seeing that Tintoretto – Titian’s main rival and, after 1565, a member of the San Rocco confraternity – received commissions of this kind from the Scuola and later also held several important offices, Alvise dalla Scala’s portrait can be seen as an expression of the competitive situation that came to a head around 1560 when both artists vied for the support of important members of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco. In those unfortunate years, the more-than-seventy-year-old Titian was probably looking for a secure, local source of income: His brother Francesco and friend Aretino had recently died, his son Orazio had been wounded, and Charles V had left a lot of unpaid bills at the time of his death that Titian was attempting to have Philipp II settle.

However, the relationships between Titian and Alvise were even closer. When Philipp II, King of Spain, had high-quality pigments purchased in Venice for the decoration of the Escorial, he entrusted Titian, who obviously knew how to guarantee their quality, with the purchase of, and expert opinion on,

the materials. It is highly likely that Titian’s portrait was created in a period of an intense commercial relationship with Alvise the color merchant when one bears in mind that, in 1572, the Spanish Ambassador in Venice commissioned Titian’s second son Orazio Vecellio to buy paints for 157 gold scudi from “Luis de la Scala”, Alvise “dai colori” – Tintoretto was later entrusted with this task.⁴⁹

Based on this, we can assume that Alvise dalla Scala was probably the most respected pigment merchant in Venice and already had close business contacts with Titian and his workshop in 1561. He possibly provided paints for the Spanish court at the time – and almost definitely did for Titian himself. From this point of view, Titian’s signature not only seems to be an indication of a business relationship between the painter (*pictor*) and portrayed color merchant, as well as the artist’s imperial nobilitation (*Eques caesaris*) that was granted in 1533 and corresponded with Alvise’s elevated office, but also to the commissioner and client they had in common, the Spanish court that they provided with pigments and paintings.

Permanent color, ephemeral nature

As can be seen, an exhibition box with samples of various pigments for artists is placed on the windowsill as an attribute of the profession of the *vendicolori*. The position of the small box in front of the open painted landscape – with the spatula jutting out into it – gives rise to the impression that the veduta is actually a painting created with the colors taken from the paint box, especially seeing that they are the same. Although it is only a small section, the colorfulness and vitality of the depiction attract the viewer’s attention (ill. 6). Titian was considered the genuine painter of nature after the publication, in 1546, of Aretino’s famous letter to the artist from May 1544.⁵⁰ In it, the poet describes how he was leaning on the window parapet looking out at the Canale Grande and that the evening sky, glowing in all of the many colors that God had created, seemed to have been painted by Titian’s divine brush.

Interpreted allegorically, the fleeting spectacle of nature in the evening we see in the Dresden painting could be understood as the motif of the *vanitas* of all earthly objects that be overcome through the immortal fame of virtuous acts that Alvise achieved in his honorary office and made him worthy of being portrayed. On the other hand, from an esthetic point of view, Aretino’s pseudo-ekphrasis of the veduta of the

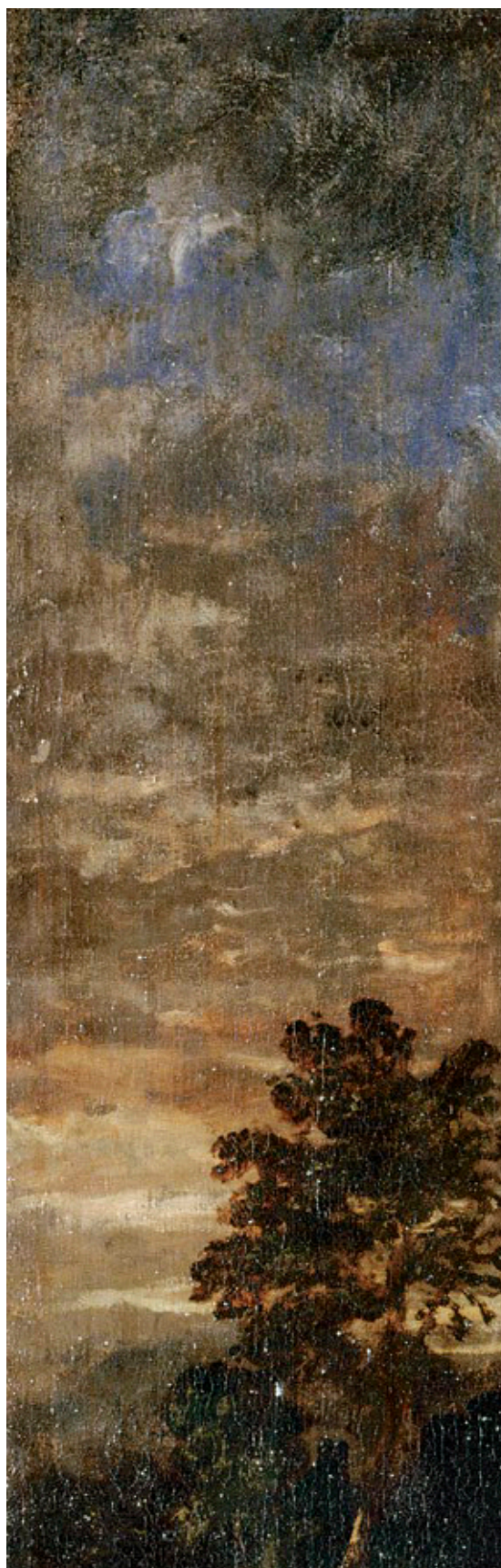
city seen through the window, which he imagined as a work by Titian, invites one to perceive the landscape cut out by the window as an easel painting mixed from the individual paints lying neatly separated from each other in the box.⁵¹

Following Aretino's panegyric, Titian conquered God-made nature with his art because he was able to invest the ephemeral moment of sunset, the sub-lunar universe itself, with visual permanence. In the artistic theory of the early modern period, this capability of giving the finite relative immortality is regarded as one of the specific achievements of portrait painting that captures the visual presence of the mortal and permanently aging person and carries it on beyond time and space.⁵² The immortalization of the ephemeral, the seemingly agile, momentary capturing of the imperceptibly rapidly dying day, justifies that controversial *prestezza* that Titian's style of painting is characterized as exhibiting and which manifests itself in this atmospheric section of the landscape he painted so flowingly with a variety of brushstrokes of different intensities.⁵³

Titian unites a number of different painting styles and execution levels ranging from *diligenza* in the face of the portrayed person, over medium precision in his hands and attributes to the *sprezzatura* of the landscape – so to speak, of close and distant vision – in the same visual space.⁵⁴ Through this imitation of the visual perception, he not only pointed the focus of attention on what is most important – namely, the retrospective image – but also suggested that, against the background of fleeting nature painted with *brevità*, the face and spirit of the portrayed person be invested with a special kind of tranquility, gravitas and permanence. The vitality of the portrayed person is spiritual and eternal; that of nature, physical and ephemeral.⁵⁵

The magic of color and animation

It is well known that Giorgio Vasari did not have very much to say about Titian in the first edition of his *Vite* but certified that the artist had a very special capability of breathing life into his figures.⁵⁶ In artistic literature, colors are attributed with the power of apparent animation, and the technique of oil painting with a new *vivacità* of the pictures.⁵⁷ In his painter dialog of 1557, *L'Aretino*, Lodovico Dolce writes that painting is the imitation of nature and the *colorito* so powerful that the exact *imitazione* of the properties of what can be seen make the paintings appear to be alive.⁵⁸ Titian's *colorire* seems so close to reality and lively that his art can be put on the same level as



Ill. 6

Detail of:

Titian, "Portrait of the Pigment Merchant Alvise dalla Scala"

nature.⁵⁹ Andrea Calmo went as far as to state that Titian’s color painting, his “magistero del far parer suso una tela con colori fenti le creature”, appears to be so close to life that the only thing missing would be to have the figures start to speak and ask for something to eat, and Aretino even compared Tintoretto’s skin hues with incarnation.⁶⁰

In his stylization of Titian as a coloristic *alter deus*, Dolce drew on Sperone Speroni’s *Dialogo d’amore*, which was written in 1537 and published in 1542, where the author claims that Titian’s art is a *miracolo* and compares his magic, animating colors with the herbs that – according to the legend – brought dead Glaucus back to life.⁶¹ If one considers that the world is the image of God painted by nature, in his paintings, Titian – who understands how to improve on nature – gives his pictures, which are an ennoblement or even resurrection of the portrayed person, a certain touch of the godly; Titian’s colors are really a kind of physical paradise.

Titian seemed to be committed to an artistic competition (*paragone*) with nature seeing that his imprese, published by Battista Pittoni and Dolce in 1562, bears the motto *natura potentior ars* – art is greater than nature.⁶² The written *anima* was accompanied by a pictorial *corpo*: In keeping with Pliny’s *Natural History*, Titian’s imprese shows a female bear forming (*figurat*) her amorphous (*informis*) new born cub into a bear with eyes, hair and claws with her tongue.⁶³ At the same time, Dolce’s epigram heralds Titian as the victor over art, the ingenium and nature. The imprese underlines that artistic shaping through physical and corporal influence is a kind of animation and that this, in turn, is actually a force of *natura naturans*, creative nature.⁶⁴ Therefore, art should not simply make an optical-perspectival representation of nature, but imitate its creative and formative principles so that the form, seen as a process, will do justice to the subject of the picture and awaken it to life.⁶⁵

Colorito instead of colori

The wide range of pigments that are shown in Alvise dalla Scala’s box (ill. 7) can be interpreted as a defense against the criticism of the shallow and material sensuality of multicolor painting compared with the truth of the monochrome line that had been leveled at colorism since the days of Aristotle and Pliny and later in the sense of the *disegno* paradigm of the early modern age. While it is said that Apelles and his contemporaries used only four colors in an act of ra-



tional abstention, Titian – in contrast – seems to have been in favor of at least ten pigments as can be recognized in the presentation box.⁶⁶ In his 1537 natural-philosophical dialog on the *arte celeste*, Antonio Brucioli even had Titian appear as a rainbow painter.⁶⁷ However – completely in the sense of Leon Battista Alberti’s demand for pure material minimization, through which painted gold is more valuable than real gold – the power, esteem and beauty of the painting does not consist in the pigments as such, whose oriental luxury was already chastised by Pliny and Vitruvius, but in their artistic elaboration.⁶⁸ As Paolo Pino stressed in his *Dialogo di pittura* from 1548 and Dolce later repeated, genuine *vaghezza* (grace) does not lie in the applied painting material “per ch’i colori sono ancho belli nelle scatole da se stessi” – because the colors are just as beautiful in their boxes – but in the grace with which they are mixed; only the unknowing are dazzled by the beauty and value of the pure colors.⁶⁹ The immediate comparison of the pigments in the paint boxes with their use in the landscape painting can therefore be interpreted as a riposte by Venetian color painting to the criticism that it only has a physical effect on the viewer and not on his intellect. The portrait of the pigment merchant provides an answer to this in that, naturally, it is not the material *colori* that make Titian’s painting so valuable but the artist’s *coloriti*; meaning not the pigments but their masterly workmanship and mixing.⁷⁰ Similar to the mother bear, the portrait artist caresses the formless color powder until living likenesses are created.

The spatula on the box is a clear indication of the materiality of the pigments: Here, it is postulated that colors are not accidental, but substances.⁷¹ In this

way Titian reveals the conditions of production and the processes of creating a painting by presenting the means for achieving this so openly. In a manner of speaking, he places the makeup box and chemist into the picture to draw attention to the material and factual authenticity of the picture and, with it, stresses that the transformation of the pigments into an apparently living, immortal portrait is the actual artistic act that is so worthy of praise.⁷² Colors of the highest quality are necessary for achieving this; colors that only Alvise dalla Scala was able to supply in Venice.

Alchemy and the imitation of nature

As Pino underlines, not only the artists, but also pigment merchants had to be able to recognize the different qualities of natural and artificial colors and, vice-versa, the artists had to have a command of the mechanical and chemical processing of the basic materials and pigments.⁷³ The alchemy that imitated, altered and improved nature linked the color merchant with the artist who either purchased his paints ready-to-use, refined them later or had to make them himself: However, Cennino Cennini had already recommended going to the pharmacist (*speziale*) instead of making complicated chemical experiments.⁷⁴ Although it was boycotted as an occult science for the artificial production of gold and other panaceas in the art and artistic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries – such as in Varari's vite of Cosimo Rosselli and Parmigianino – the alchemistic practice of the artist's workshop was part of the technical knowledge that found its way into the painting manuals of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, as well as into Leonardo da Vinci's notes.⁷⁵ Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo was able to speak about the "alchimia de i pittori venetiani" – the alchemy of Venetian artists – in his description of various painting materials and, conversely, Pino ironically felt that the wealth that Zeuxis and Apollodoros had accumulated with their paintings was the result of the "vera alchimia della pittura" – the true alchemy of painting.⁷⁶ In 1544, after his stay in the Veneto region and shortly before he held his famous lecture on the *paragone*, Benedetto Varchi wrote a tractate in defense of alchemy as a useful art for controlling nature.⁷⁷

On the one hand, the color merchant alchemistically extracts organic, inorganic and artificial pigments from dead and living nature. He then sublimates, reduces, demixes and purifies them to colored powder. He transforms the nature we see when we look at nature into the individual colors that he pre-

sents in his box as if the colored elements had been extracted from the clouds, trees and rocks themselves. On the other hand, the artist, who is actually a blender of colors, makes use of those processed and refined natural materials presented in the box, mixes the pure colors together once again to depict nature – whether in the landscape or a person – in color and have it appear alchemistically, one could almost say demiurgically, before our eyes. In this respect, the Venetian coloristic-naturalistic view of art presents itself as a radical alternative to the Tuscan optical-intellectual *disegno* theory.

The reverse alchemistic process of the painter closes the cycle of the elements on a higher level: After the alchemist has demixed and processed the natural substances, the artist mixes those pigments anew and animates them through the creation of seemingly living depictions of nature – and finally lucratively transforms colored dust into gold. In his pseudo-alchemistic-erotic tractate *Chrysopoeia*, which was published in Venice in 1515 and dedicated to Pope Leo X, Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli describes that the artist – in this case, his friend Giulio Campagnola – depicts the landscape and all things visible with those colors that the alchemist has removed from nature.⁷⁸ Seeing that natural things and living organisms are created out of a mixture of colored materials, as Empedocles describes, and – in keeping with the concepts of ancient times that the primary colors correspond with the four elements and four galenic fluids – in reverse, painting that imitates nature must be coloristic.⁷⁹ Only through the masterly use of the best substrates nature has to offer can nature be created a second time through metamorphosis and recomposition, improved and, in this way, made immortal. Only through painting with the elements and in keeping with the principles of nature can this be represented as if it was alive. With the sunset, Titian paints a permanent self-portrait of nature painting; as a godlike creator he seems, almost alchemistically, to draw the pure light out of the darkness permeated by God into the daylight. Through his art, nature paints and overcomes itself. As Titian's imprese actually states: Art and nature elevate each other to a higher power.

The added value, the refining philosopher's stone of this alchemistic-artistic metamorphosis, in which *magia naturalis* and *magia artificialis* become entwined, lies in the intellectual performance, in studying, imitating and making use of natural process that are actually artistic.⁸⁰ This artistic-scientific activity

becomes legible and understandable through the work of art by embracing and depicting model-like the cycle of creation in the *dimostrar l'arte* – the evidence of art. The painting commenting on itself represents nature-like thinking about nature. The intellectual, but visualized, achievement of the human being – in this case, the color merchant and painter at the same time – is the actual image content that promises them historical immortality. When the color merchant Alvise “dai colori” had Titian portray him using his own colors, he took part, materially and procesually, in his social representative self-ennoblement through doubling, in which Titian played a major role, as the commission granter in the sense of a “fieri fecit”. On the other hand, the painter proved that art is work on nature.

Notes

The present essay is a translation of the unchanged article published in 2010. Exh. cat. Dresden 2010, pp. 47–59.

- 1 See Newton 1988, p. 9 f.
- 2 Weddigen 2006, p. 113, no. 190.
- 3 Pietro Maria Guarienti, *Catalogo delli quadri, che sono nel gabinetto di Sua Maestà, 1750*; manuscript, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Inventar-Nr. 358 [hereafter = Inv. Dresden 1750], fol. 45r, no. 645; Riedmatten / Rüfenacht / Weddigen 2004, p. 139, no. 645: “Tiziano Vecellio – Ritratto in tela di Pietro Aretino, più di mezza figura al naturale, fù della casa Marcello Nobili Veneti”. On Guarienti, see most recently, Weddigen 2004.
- 4 Inv. Dresden 1750, fol. 45v, nos. 647 and 646; Riedmatten / Rüfenacht / Weddigen 2004, p. 139; see, cat. Dresden 2006/07, vol. 2, p. 556, Gal.-no. 249, and p. 228, Gal.-no. 1608.
- 5 Cf. Morelli 1880, p. 66 f.; Michiel 2000, p. 53 f.: “In casa de M. Hieronimo Marcello a. S. Thomado, 1925:[115/53] El ritratto de M. Christoforo Marcello, fratello de M. Hieronimo, arcivescovo de Corfù, fo opera de Titiano”. See also Williamson 1903, p. 105; on Cristoforo Marcello, see Cicogna 1824/53, vol. 2, p. 70.
- 6 Inv. Dresden 1754, fol. 27r, no. I 346: “Tiziano Vecellio. Portrait Petri Aretini, welcher in der linken Hand einen Zweig hält, Kniestück auf Leinen”.
- 7 Cat. Dresden 1765, p. 235 f., no. 356: “Portrait de Pierre Aretin, la tête nue & portant moustache, vêtu de noir, une branche de palmier à la main, figure jusqu’aux genoux”. Cat. Dresden 1771, p. 208, no. 356. Cf. Lehninger 1782, *Galerie Intérieure*, no. 356: “Portrait de Pierre Aretin, la tête nue & portant moustache, vêtu de noir, une branche de palmier à la main; figure jusqu’aux genoux. Vasari prétend que ce portrait n’étoit pas aussi beau qu’un autre de la main du Titien, que l’Aretin anvoya en présent à Cosme de Medicis.”
- 8 See cat. Potsdam 1764, p. 7 f., no. 8. Cf. Bartoscheck / Hüneke 1996, p. 213 f., here p. 224, no. 43: Berger’s engraving.
- 9 Cat. Dresden 1817, p. 253, no. 166: “Bildnis des Dichters Petrus Aretinus. Er ist schwarz gekleidet; in seiner linken Hand hält er einen Palmzweig. Links unten im Bilde steht MDLXI. Inm. Petrus Aretinus, aetatis sua XXXXVI. – Titianus Pictor et Aequus Caesaris. Kniestück.”
- 10 Cat. Dresden 1826, p. 216, no. 168; engraving, 19.8×25 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Inv.-no. A 131532.
- 11 The paintings from left to right: Gal.-no. 249, 281, 236, 172, 173, 170.
- 12 Cf. Walther 1981; Weber 1998; Weber 1998a; Weber 2000; Brink / Henning 2005.
- 13 Cat. Dresden 1835, p. 17, no. 55.
- 14 Cat. Dresden 1856, p. 112: “Bildniss des Dichters Pietro Aretino (?)”. Lindau 1856, p. 52: »6) die Halbfigur (angeblich) des eben so berühmten als zügellosen Dichters Pietro Aretino (1492–1556): (Stich von W. Hollar und Berger).“ Quandt 1856, p. 27 f.: “Unter den Portraits, die wir im Museum mit Tizian’s Namen bezeichnet finden, ist dies das Merkwürdigste.” “Jum. [sic] Petrus Aretinus aetatis suae XXXXVI”. “Es ist dies Bild anderen Bildnissen dieses berühmten Mannes jedoch nicht ähnlich, und der Palmenzweig, welcher hier Aretin in die Hand gegeben, kein passendes Attribut, weder für den lasciven Dichter, noch für den gefürchteten Satyrker. Auch dürfte wohl gezwifelt werden, ob die Aufschrift ächt sey.”
- 15 Schäfer 1860, vol. 1, p. 46 f., no. 208: “Der in den Händen des wegen seiner sittenlosen Dialoge und Sonnete sogar verfolgten Dichters ruhende Palmenzweig ist ebenso von ihm selbst bestellt, als die auf ihn geschlagene Denkmünze, deren Revers

- ihn auf dem Throne sitzend und Geschenke von Fürsten und Gesandten empfangend darstellt [...], und harmonirt ganz zu dem sich selbst beigelegten Namen 'il Divo Aretino'." Mentions reproductions by Wenzel Hollar, Giovanni Giacomo Caraglio, Daniel Berger and Cornelis van Dalen.
- 16 Cf. Cat. Dresden 1867, p. 121, no. 228: "Bildniss eines Unbekannten, mit einem Palmzweig in der Hand. [...] Bez. MDLXI. (ächt) INM. PETRVS ARETIVVS AETATIS SVA (sic) XXXXVI. (un-ächt); weiter unten mit derselben Schrift, wie die Jahreszahl: TITIANVS PICTOR ET ÆQVES (sic) CÆSARIS. (ächt.) (Aretin, 1492 geb., starb schon 1556)."
 - 17 Crowe / Cavalcaselle 1877, vol. 2, p. 695: "Die ursprüngliche Schönheit des Bildes hat namentlich zu dem Versuche gereizt, die dargestellte Persönlichkeit zu benamen. Dies war durch folgende Inschrift bewerkstelligt worden: 'MDLXI//INM. PETRVS ARETINVS//ÆTATIS SVA (sic) XXXXVI//TITIANVS PICTOR ET//ÆQVES CÆSARIS.' Da die Physiognomie augenscheinlich nicht die Aretin's und die Inschrift sichtlich gefälscht war, so wurde die Stelle neuerdings gereinigt und dabei kam ein andrer Wortlaut zum Vorschein, nämlich: 'MDLXI//ANNO .. I. APΓ.. NATVS//ÆTATIS SVAE XLVI//TITIANVS PICTOR ET//ÆQVES CÆSARIS.'"
 - 18 Inv. Dresden 1754, fol. 35v, no. I 462. Cat. Dresden 1908, p. 107, gall.-no. 219: anonymous Venetian master, "Männliches Bildnis", "von späterer Hand auf der Rückseite unrichtig als Bildnis des Pietro Aretino bez." Cf. Bode 1879, p. 198: "das Portrait des Aretin von Paris Bordone"; Cat. Dresden 2006/07, vol. 2, p. 131, Gal.-no. 219.
 - 19 Already by Huber (Cat. Dresden 1867, p. 121, no. 228).
 - 20 Morelli 1880, p. 203: "Den späten Jahren Titian's gehört das männliche Bildniß, No. 228, zu. Hinter dem Manne sieht man auf dem Gesims eines Fensters eine Farbenschachtel; vom Jahre 1561." Cf. Gronau 1900, p. 192 f.: "Farbkasten und Spachtel".
 - 21 Cf., on the other hand, Fehrenbach 2005, p. 4 f.
 - 22 Tscheuschner 1901, p. 292 f.
 - 23 Stafski 1956, ill. 12; Hein / Koning 1969; Schwarz / Romano 1981, ill. 157; Hein / Müller-Jahncke 1993, p. 62 f.
 - 24 Exh. cat. Rome 1998, cat.-no. D 21, ill. p. 280: Giovanni Battista Tinti, "Madonna with Cosmas And Damian", medicine box with spatulas; Reznicek 1961, vol. 1, no. K 162.
 - 25 Pallucchini / Rossi 1982, vol. 1, p. 206 f., no. 358, and vol. 2, ill. 466.
 - 26 Crowe / Cavalcaselle 1877, vol. 2, p. 695.
 - 27 Cf. Polleross 1988.
 - 28 Ebert 1963, p. 45 (burned); Cat. Dresden 2006/07, vol. 2, p. 748, Gal.-no. 162.
 - 29 Tscheuschner 1901, p. 293.
 - 30 According to Fehrenbach 2003, p. 166 f., note 78, and Fehrenbach 2005, p. 4 f.
 - 31 Cook 1905, p. 451 f. The identification can be traced back to an observation made by James Kerr-Lawson (1862–1939) the inscription reads: "MDLXI / ANNO.....NATVS / AETATIS SVAE XLVI. / TITIANVS PICTOR ET / AEQUES CAESARIS."
 - 32 Cat. Dresden 1908, p. 90, no. 172: "MDLXI / ANNO..... NATVS. / AETATIS SVAE XLVI. / TITIANVS PICTOR ET / ÆQVES CÆSARIS." Cf. Posse 1929, p. 88, no. 172; Tietze 1936, p. 250, ill. 246; Hetzer 1945, p. 449; Jacopo Palma; Dell'Acqua 1955, p. 130, ill. 167; Valcanover 1960, vol. 2, p. 45, ill. 96. Pallucchini 1969, p. 172 and p. 311, no. 457; exh. cat. Washington / New York / San Francisco 1978/79, p. 210 f., no. 516; Pedrocchi 2000, p. 266, no. 226.
 - 33 Wethey 1971, vol. 2, p. 120, no. 69; exh. cat. London 1983, p. 228 f., no. 129. Cf. Dorothee Westphal 1932 in Thieme / Becker 1907/50, vol. 26, p. 171 f.: "Eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit des von Tizian Porträ-
 - tierten in Dresden mit dem vermeintlichen Selbstporträt Palmas auf der Königin von Saba in Venedig [...] ist nicht zu verkennen." However, Westphal 1931, ill. 68 registers no similarity. Mason 2007, p. 79 f., suspects a color merchant making the identification with Antonio Palma in ill. 4 uncertain once again. Neutral as "man with a Palm" in exh. cat. Paris 1993, p. 614 f., no. 254; exh. cat. Berlin 2002/03, p. 42, no. 3; exh. cat. Hamburg 2002, cat. no. 15; cat. Dresden 2006/07, vol. 1, p. 225, vol. 2, p. 541, Gal.-no. 172.
 - 34 Cf. Ivanoff 1979; Phil Rylands in Turner 1996, vol. 23, p. 877.
 - 35 We would like to thank Gabriele Köster for her verification of the office (facsimile of March 25, 1999) with reference to: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Avogaria di Comun, busta 361, no. 63, witness at the verification of the *cittadinanza* of Pietro Perazzo on January 25, 1572, "Victor garbignanus doctor advocatus". Primary information, Köster 2008, ch. 1; on the dress code, see *ibid.*, p. 82.
 - 36 See Köster 2008, p. 520 f., no. 1070.
 - 37 Massimi 1995, p. 155. "Alvise da la Scala dai Colori" is listed in the 1561 registers of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco as "degano di mezz'anno". We are grateful to Francesca Sardi for her research (email of September 29, 2003) that we pursued Venice, Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita della Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Libro de le banche e li XII agionti, 1480–1577, registro 1, busta 1, anno 1561, degani di mezz'anno. *Ibid.*, Registro delle parti, 1542–1577, busta 2, fol. 213r, 24. August 1560: ballottaggio, Alvise dalla Scala becomes "guardian de mezano". Alvise dalla Scala is mentioned several times in the following folios. Cf. Krischel 2002, p. 98.
 - 38 Office ranks in Massimi 1995, p. 7 f.
 - 39 We thank Benjamin Paul for the information (email of March 7, 2003), that we pursued: Venedig, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile, testamenti, notaio Marcantonio Cavanis, busta 193, fascicolo 28 ("Alvise dalla Scalla" mentions "casa mia a S. Zulian"). *Ibid.*, fascicolo 300 ("Dominigo Gradignan dalla Scalla", July 29, 1587, calls Angelo his brother, a certain, Margherita his mother and ("casa mia à S. Cassan"). *Ibid.*, notaio Galeazzo Secco, busta 1194, fascicolo 5, fol. 41r (Margherita, June 20, 1597, protocolus quintus, "in giesia di frari da tre messe alla settimana da esser celebrata nella cappella, dove è sta sepulto el ditto q. m.co mio marido", July 29, 1587, Alvise alive) and *ibid.*, busta 1192, fascicolo 507 (Alvise bedridden, September 1, 1589, calls "archa nostra nella chiesa di frari", leaves everything to Angelo Gradignano). The Gradignan family could be related to that "ser Dominici q. ser Gabrielis de Gardignano a colloribus": Matthew 2002, p. 682.
 - 40 Massimi 1997, p. 151: Resolution of the guardian grande Marco Balbiani February 19, 1574 (1573 more veneto), "per memoria delle fatiche fatte per essi magnifici guardiani et avicarii, et per non mostrar delle opere sue total oblivione, per una volta tantum la dominica delle palme per il magnifico guardian che succede nel governo della scuola nostra sii mandato in segno de amorevolezza a nome di essa scuola nostra a donar una palma al magnifico guardian et avicario che sarà uscito quell'anno [...], perchè resti di ogni buon exempio alli magnifici successor." Gabriele Köster is to be thanked for this information.
 - 41 Herbert Siebenhüner's suggestion that the palm leaf could denote a member in the Fraternity of the Holy Land and, therefore, a pilgrim to Palestine can be ruled out. On this matter, see, Angelo Walther in exh. cat. Essen 1986, cat. no. 456. The palm leaf could have been added after this honor had been granted; however, it is shown against a brown background.
 - 42 Krischel 2002; Matthew 2002; Matthew 2003; cf. Lazzarini 1987; DeLancey 2003. We thank Roland Krischel for showing us two new essays that will be published soon: "The Venetian

- pigment trade in the sixteenth century”, in: *Colors between two worlds. The Codice fiorentino of Bernardino de Sahagún and “The inventory of the Venetian vendecolori Jacopo de’ Benedetti. The non-pigment materials”*, in: *Trade in artists’ materials. Markets and commerce in Europe to 1700*, Jo Kirby, Susie Nash and Joanna Cannon (eds.).
- 43 Pullan 1971.
 - 44 Cf. Kleinschmidt 1977.
 - 45 Castiglione 1528, vol. 1, p. 134 (book 2, 5.10).
 - 46 Hills 1999, p. 186 f.
 - 47 Massimi 1995, p. 14.
 - 48 Köster 2008, p. 236 f., especially p. 250.
 - 49 Mancini 2007, p. 90, no. 6: May 29, 1572, report by Diego Guzmán de Silva, “Relación del gasto que se ha hecho en las colores infrascripta que se han comprado en Venecia de Luis de la Scala vezino della, y escogidas por Horatio Vecelli pintor hijo del Ticiano.” Ibid., p. 91, no. 6: “Yo Luis de la Scala mercader vezino de esta ciudad de Venecia confieso aver recebido del muy ilustre señor Diego de Guzman de Silva embajador en esta Republica de Venecia ciento y cinquenta y siete escudos de oro in oro [...]. Io, Alvixe della Scala afermo de mi mano e approvo quanto è supra. Io Horatio Vecellio pintor ho eletto et cernito li sudetti colori et fatto il prezzo come pare per la soprascritta relatione, il quale è, il migliore, il più giusto et conveniente, chè in questo tempo si ha potuto trovare in questa città.”
 - 50 Aretino 1546, fol. 47r–v; Cf. Rosen 2001, p. 111.
 - 51 Cf. Fehrenbach 2005, p. 166 f., note 78. Fehrenbach 2005, p. 4 f.: Here, the window is interpreted as a palette since it was assumed that this is the portrait of a painter (Francesco Vecellio or Antonio Palma). Cf. the pigments delivered to Spain: Rico 2000. At the top in the window a dark sky seems to cover the pentimento of a window frame or damage.
 - 52 On the reflection on this topic in poetry, cf. Bott 1976; Weber 1991.
 - 53 Cf. Weber 1991, p. 150 f.
 - 54 See Rosen 2001, p. 333 f.
 - 55 On animation, see Jacobs 2005.
 - 56 Vasari 1550, vol. 3, p. 581: “Costui da vivendo vita alle figure che e’ fa vive, come darà & vivo & morto fama & alla sua Venecia, & alla nostra terza maniera.”
 - 57 See Rosen 2001, p. 422 f.; Fehrenbach 2003a; Fehrenbach 2005, p. 166 f., note 78; Jacobs 2005, p. 176 f.
 - 58 Dolce 1557, fol. 11r: “Dico adunque la pittura, brevemente parlando, non essere altro, che imitatione della natura: e colui, che piu nelle sue opere le si avvicina, è piu perfetto maestro.” Ibid., fol. 38v–39r.: “E certo il colorito è di tanta importanza e forza, che quando il pittore va imitando l bene le tinte e la morbidezza delle carni, e la proprietà di qualunque cosa, fa parer le sue pitture vive, e tali, che lor non manchino altro, che l fiato.” On colore see, Freedberg 1979/80, vol. 2, p. 309 f.; Poirier 1991; Puttfarken 1991.
 - 59 Dolce 1557, fol. 5v and 54v.
 - 60 Calmo 1888, p. 126, undated letter to Moscardina d’i Gazanti. Krischel 1991, p. 99. We thank Roland Krischel for this information.
 - 61 Pozzi 1978, vol. 1, p. 547: “Tiziano non è dipintore e non è arte la virtù sua ma miracolo; e ho opinione che i suoi colori sieno composti di quella erba meravigliosa, la quale, gustata da Glauco, d’uomo in dio lo trasformò.” See, Pardo 1993, p. 58; cf. Fehrenbach 2005, p. 4 f.: “amazingly direct demonstration of the two effect intentions mentioned by Speroni”, namely “the ‘sanctification’ of the portrayed person and the animation of the figure and surroundings; a vitality based, analogous to the myth, on the puzzling animation of colors that were previously resting”; this on the assumption that the portrayed person is identified as a saint. Cf. Jacobs 2005, p. 185 f.
 - 62 Pittoni / Dolce 1568, p. 45; cf. Pardo 1993; Bohde 2002, p. 316 f.; Garrad 2003.
 - 63 Pliny [1975/94], book 8, ch. 54, para. 126: “Hi sunt candida in-formisque caro, paulo muribus maior, sine oculis, sine pilo; unguis tantum prominent. Hanc lambendo paulatim figurant.” Cf. Henkel / Schöne 1996, p. 441 f.
 - 64 Suthor 2004, p. 15 f.
 - 65 Cf. Rosand 1988.
 - 66 Pliny [1975/94], book 35, ch. 31, para. 50. Aristotle Poetik, 1450 a–b, translated by Alfred Gudemann: “Wollte nämlich jemand eine Tafel mit den herrlichsten Farben aufs Geratewohl bestreichen, so würde er nicht ein gleiches Wohlgefallen hervorrufen, als wenn er nur eine (monochrome) Zeichnung grau in grau geben würde. (If somebody painted a panel at random with the most wonderful colors, he would not feel the same satisfaction as if he had made a (monochrome) gray-in-gray drawing.)” This shows that Titian’s colorism is definitely not seen connection with the multicolor theory of Apelles: cf. on the other hand, Gage 1993, p. 34.
 - 67 Antonio Brucioli, Dialog 19, Arco celeste, in: *Dialogi della naturale philosophia*, libro terzo, Venice, Bartholomeo Zanetti da Brescia, 1537. Information in Gage 1993, p. 95.
 - 68 Alberti 2002, p. 102 f., pp. 146 – 149.
 - 69 Pino 1548, fol. 18r; see Gage 1992, p. 137.
 - 70 Cf. Bohde 2002, p. 316 f.
 - 71 Cf. Rosen 2001, pp. 422–433.
 - 72 Cf. Pichler 1999.
 - 73 Pino 1548, fol. 17v.
 - 74 Cennini 1859, p. 26: “se ti vorrai affaticare, ne troverai assai ricette, e specialmente pigliando amisti di frati. Ma io ti consiglio, non perda tempo nelle molte svariazioni di pratiche, pigli pur di quel che truovi da’ speciali per lo tuo denaro.
 - 75 See Merrifield 1849; Roosen-Runge 1970; Gage 1992, pp. 139–152; Fuchs / Oltrogge 1996. See e.g., positive connotation in Vasari 1550, vol. 1, p. 83; negative ibid., vol. 2, p. 457 and vol. 3, p. 850 f.; Cf. Lennep 1985, p. 285 f.; DaCosta Kaufmann 1997; Elkins 1999; Cole 2002; Principe / DeWitt 2002; Wamberg 2006. On Parmigianino, see exh. cat. Casalmaggiore 2003. A positive depiction of the pigment merchant: Job Berckheyde, “Der Farbenhändler”, Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Inv. 988. An identification of the painter with the alchemist: Luca Giordano, “Self Portrait” Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, Inv. 589, in exh. cat. Casalmaggiore 2003, p. 122, no. III.04.
 - 76 Lomazzo 1584, vol. 1, p. 191; Pino 1548, fol. 22r.
 - 77 See Varchi 1827; Mendelsohn 1982, p. 22 f.
 - 78 Augurelli 1515, 3rd book, unpaginated; Augurelli 1716, p. 83. Information in Gage 1993, p. 149.
 - 79 Empedocles, On Nature, in Diels 1903, p. 202 f., no. 71. Cf. color theories in Barash 1978; Hall 1992.
 - 80 On artists as magicians, see Kris / Kurz 1934, ch. 2. On alchemy and the science of art, see Gabriele 1997.